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ABSTRACT

Naturalistic inquiry (based on the ethnographic research paradigm) has the potential to supplement, or possibly to replace, quantitative experimental research in education. For years most reading researchers have used the experimental research design. This design fails to tap self-concept, value systems, purpose of and attitude toward reading, teacher's personality, teaching skills, and individual differences. Another criticism of the experimental control design model is that it has been of limited value in providing information about the reading process. As a consequence, participant observation, informal interviews, and video tape analysis have been identified as sensitive action-oriented processes needed to supplement quantitative data collection. Because these techniques describe the world as the participants see it, they have the potential for providing answers to complex reading problems. More specifically, the data are broader and more holistic. Certainly it is now time to broaden the horizons of reading research to include variations in reading behavior, to examine culture-free tests, and to review carefully techniques and strategies needed in the teaching of cross-cultural groups. Reading research must use a wider range of research methodology, including video recordings, field notes, participant observations, elicitation tasks, informal interviews, introspection and retrospection, audio tapes, recordings, diaries, and informal observation of cognitive tasks. (HOD)

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ETHNOGRAPHIC THEORY AND METHODOLOGY IN READING RESEARCH

(prepared for the 27th annual
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ETHNOGRAPHIC THEORY AND METHODOLOGY IN READING RESEARCH

Introduction

In keeping with one of the 27th annual convention issues, "The Search for Truth: Naturalistic vs Experimental Research," this paper is designed to articulate the potential the ethnographic research paradigm, a naturalistic design, has for discerning insight into the elusive reading process and other related educational research problems. The thesis of this paper is that naturalistic inquiry has the potential certainly to supplement, or possibly to replace, quantitative experimental research in education, depending upon the research question. There are three main objectives: (1) To delineate the limitations and value of experimental design research in studying the reading process and related educational research problems, (2) to define ethnography and discuss the related methodology, (3) to overview the evolution of the development and use of ethnography and ethnographic research tools and other naturalistic inquiry methods and project the potential for a less classical model to conduct educational research, specifically reading/research.

It is the intent of this researcher to give consideration to the use of qualitative findings, which have been associated traditionally with ethnographers and anthropology

and sociology, to both raise and answer questions in education concerning the problems of reading instruction.

The dynamics of the classroom, the ecological setting, the learning processes and the description of language and communication require a holistic approach to problem solving. Ethnography yields soft rather than hard data. It is not a process that restricts research to provide certain kinds of answers under certain kinds of circumstances. It is a naturalistic research design not subject to the control required in the experimental design technique. This paper will recommend qualitative data collecting techniques to supplement quantitative data collecting techniques in improving the quality of reading instruction and raising the rate of literacy.

Objective I

For years educational researchers, in particular reading researchers, have utilized the experimental research design and sophisticated statistical techniques almost exclusively. We have used this methodology in an attempt to find solutions to the nation's reading problems, to solve other teacher education problems, to develop curricula, to search for answers to instructional problems and to investigate the reading process.

A 1977-1978 volume of the Reading Research Quarterly entitled "Preconvention Institute to Focus on Alternative Research Methodologies" points up the need for reading researchers to acquire more knowledge about alternative methods. Underlying many Reading Research Quarterly editorials it is inferred that the classical model has not sufficed to finding solutions to the nation's reading problems.

As early as 1955, the nation's attention was called to the inability of some youth to read efficiently (Flesh, 1955). Shortly thereafter, a number of other researchers reported that many of our nation's children were not learning to read (Davis, 1960; Bond & Tinker, 1957). Named as responsible have been deficient teacher education programs that were not training teachers to take on the task of helping children to read (Austin & Morrison, 1961; Conant. 1963). Reading programs were reported to be mediocre and teacher education programs were challenged to improve training in reading methodologies (Austin & Morrison, 1961).

In 1969, the United States Commissioner of Education announced that (a) one out of every four students nationwide had significant reading deficiencies and that (b) there were more than three million illiterates in the adult population.

Allen (1969) challenged educators to examine critically reading research; to study teacher education training; and to make whatever changes necessary so that by 1980 no student would leave school without the skills of reading and communication.

Until the 1960's the responsibility for the success or failure of a student's reading achievement had generally been attributed to the elementary classroom teacher. It was, however, predicted that the sixties would be the era of the extension of reading instruction beyond the elementary schools (Artley, 1964).

One major study recommended that a basic course in reading be required as a prerequisite for all secondary teachers so that the teaching of reading skills would be reinforced in all secondary classrooms (Austin & Morrison, 1961). Other authorities began reporting that reading cannot successfully be taught by the conclusion of the sixth grade and must therefore be extended into the junior and senior high schools (Gray, 1938; Conant, 1959; Herber, 1965; Barbe, 1965).

By the early 1970's there was a trend which has persisted toward incorporating reading methodologies into the secondary schools by content area teachers (Carroll & Chall, 1974). Educational literature supported the need to train

secondary content area teachers in reading methodologies (Harsh, 1971, McGuire, 1969). More specifically, reading research literature began suggesting a need for further investigation into the planning and implementation of pre-service secondary training in reading methodologies (Olson, 1970; Harsh, 1971).

Despite agreement among authorities that there was a need for further extension of reading in the upper grades and although reading researchers were hard at work researching reading methods using the scientific methodology and publishers were hard at work producing new materials, programs, computers, strategies and other audio visual aids based on these findings little in reading research has made any contribution to the reading process.

In 1962 Strang commented that the goal of research should be to refine and develop effective and appropriate insights into the dynamics of the reading process which might confirm or revolutionize our methods of teaching. She was among the pioneers in reading research concerned about the inaccuracies resulting from generalizing about humans as subjects of research. She stated that factors such as teacher attitudes and individual differences of pupils are pertinent to understanding the dynamics of the reading process but are untapped by quantitative measures. As early as

1962 she saw the need for research other than experimental. Strang set in motion a cycle of introspective-retrospective case studies, both forms of ethnographic methodology to look at the dynamics of the reading process. These are worthy of investigation.

Robinson was another pioneer who questioned quantitative research methodology. From 1946-1978 Robinson has advised potential reading researchers to study the total reading researchers to study the total reading process. She said that there may not be a field of reading apart from the related disciplines and that it is impossible to exclude the backgrounds of related disciplines in the study of the reading process. She further stated that reading data measuring the effects of method A and method B is subject to doubt due to confounding factors that may have occurred prior to the study reducing the validity of the generalizations. This is in agreement with Strang's views that self concept, value systems, purpose and attitude toward reading, teacher's personality, teaching skills, and individual differences are untapped by quantitative measures.

In three recent editions of the Reading Research Quarterly, articles are found entitled "Methodological Incarceration" (Farr & Weintraub, 1974-75) "Ethnography and Reading: Matching Inquiry Mode to Process" (Wolf & Tymitz,

1976-77) and "Reading Research: Where Do We Go From Here?" (Farr & Weintraub, 1974-75). These authors stated emphatically that sophisticated empirically-based research design has failed in its attempt to study the reading process. It was their view that quantities of well written research have been published based upon well designed research in prestigious journals. They regret, however, that few of these articles have given suggestions for solving the problems concerning reading. Penney suggests that future researchers be more independent and more thoughtful.

All of these authors suggest that the lack of answers may be the result of restricted research investigative tools, methodologies and approaches which they label methodological incarceration.

In a recent discussion of New Considerations for Older Methodologies for Inquiry with Older Readers, De Santi (1977) concurs with the previous view and deemed it crucial that we begin to look at research types other than the psychological type. Farrand Weintraub in introducing the 1976 issue of Improving Reading Research stated:

> Since Williams S. Gray first began abstracting and annotating reading research literature in 1925 about 9,000 published reports have been identified. It would seem that every aspect of reading has been thoroughly investigated with marked thoroughness and certainly with so many published reports extant,

> all of our questions should have been answered. Regrettably, such is not the case; unanswered questions abound. (p.2)

The authors continued (a) reading research should be more broadly defined to include models other than the classical model (b) researchers should not continue to be affected by "methodological incarceration."

McDermott (1977) reported that though the question of what works in classrooms with regard to children learning to read has been asked, researched and analyzed over and over for many years, these findings have not provided solutions. He concluded that a study of the environment of the pupil is essential to measure the efficiency of methods of learning to read. Goodman (1976) was in agreement that we have masses of tables, charts, arrays and matrices which discuss statistical relationships, but that we have learned little or nothing about reading. Goodman also stated that the experimental control design model has been of limited value in providing information about the reading process. He suggested that reading research has become confused with data collection and manipulation.

Within the last three years Dean C. Corrigan has suggested that ethnographic analyses are rigorous evaluations which study in depth the larger ecology of the school or classroom and are needed for global types of comprehensive evaluations which will enhance inservice. Donald T. Campbell (1979) is forwarding the

movement toward the use of methodology other than experimental. In 1979, he discussed his new views in an article entitled "Degrees of Freedom and the Case Study." I quote from Campbell "Quantitative knowing has to trust and build on the qualitative, including ordinary perception." This is quite a reversal from Campbell's earlier dogmatic views toward the exclusive use of dexperimental design. Similar conclusions have been made by Guba (1981) that the scientific paradigm has proven itself inappropriate for education due to its inconclusiveness and lack of relativity to the real world.

Reading researchers have for too long wished to be identified with experimental psychology. They are discovering that the complexity of the reading process necessitates analysis by an approach other than that provided by quantitative or experimental research methodology. The reading process requires careful and thoughtful planning using appropriate methodology to resolve the specific question at hand. Reading researchers are beginning to agree that it is crucial that we use methodology that will permit us to study and analyze the reading process in its natural setting. We need a methodology that permits descriptive explication of the sensitive relationships involved in the reading process.

Objective II

Participant observation, an ethnographic technique has been identified as a unique, sensitive action oriented process needed to supplement quantitative data collection used in experimental design. The suggestion has been made that qualitative data is needed to supplement quantitative data due to the criticism which we have discussed earlier by both reading researchers and educational researchers, namely, Strang, Robinson, Corrigan, Campbell, Farr and Weintraub, and Guba. Participant observation uncovers data which may be analyzed in an attempt to understand the complex behaviors and subleties related to the reading process. It can also be used to analyze interaction between teachers and children in the classroom environment. Authors Farr and Weintraub (1975) allude to Lutz and Ramsey's 1974 position in their paper entitled "The Use of Anthropological Field Methods in Education." They state that (a) complex phenomenon such as reading cannot be understood by looking at its separate variables (b) and that the anthropological field study approach provides hope for a long overdue change in educational research. They also feel that the anthropological field research approach can carefully study a complete socio-cultural system, i.e., a school system, school or classroom. This second objective will focus on a rationale for the use of ethnographic techniques more naturalistic in its design. It includes participant observation as

an anthropological field technique to supplement analysis, informal interviews, and video tape analysis. It will also define ethnography and explicate briefly the methodology related thereto.

Recently educators in increasing numbers have found varied reasons for recommending ethnography. They have hoped to use this methodology to gain insights into reading which have hitherto been obscure. Most of us who are educators, however, are not familiar with the research methodology used by the anthropologists.

Anthropological field work was defined by the 1968 International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences as the study of people and of their natural habitat. It requires the residence, participation and observation of the researcher in a society to understand the inside views. The data of cultural anthropological fieldwork is therefore derived from direct observation of behavior. The "making, reporting, and evaluating such observations are the tasks of ethnography. An ethnographer is an anthropologist who attempts--at least in part of his professional work--to record and describe the culturally significant behaviors of a particular society." (p. 172)

Participant observation, reported Bogdan (1972) does not have a clear definition. He defined it as "research characterized by a prolonged period of intense social interaction

between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter, during which time, data, in the form of field notes, are unobtrusively and systematically collected. His goal is to see the world as the subjects conceive it." (p. 3) The purpose of the method is to achieve an understanding of complex social settings and relationships--why not relationships within a school? Why not reading processes? There was general agreement by McCall and Simmons (1969) that participant observation is not a single method. It is rather a style of research which uses a number of methods and techniques. Some of these techniques are observation, informal interviewing, document analysis, respondent interviewing, and participant self analysis either introspective or retrospective. Participant observation is loosely structured and it is designed to maximize discovery. McCall and Simmons felt strongly that it is a strategy of research which lends itself to the study of the dynamics of social organizations, among which could be the public urban schools. Dell Hymes (1981) in his Language and Ethnography Series states that even anthropologists do not have one version of ethnography. Especially as it pertains to studying contemporary issues such as education. He warns us that we cannot buy the whys and hows of ethnography in a box so labeled. He warns us that we must proceed carefully or ethnography could become faddish.

Warwick (1973) in analyzing the respective merits of quantitative and qualitative data concluded that participant observation brings the researcher closer to the front line of real people and catches the details missed by the blunt survey instruments involved in scientific methodology. Warwick also pointed out that the time has come for fruitful experimentation with new options and that any and every study should raise the question of alternative methods asking for what he calls the "cost benefits." He compared the choice of research methods with the selection of a lens for a camera. One must ask oneself the type of picture one wants. Qualitative data provides not only a broad panoramic descriptive view, but also pictures the much needed details.

Most recently Clark (1977) attributed the growing interest in anthropological methods among evaluators of educational programs to the inability of quantitative data to adequately describe the meaning of programs with interpretation and understanding. Therefore unable to assist us with revolutionizing our teaching, he allied with Denzin (1970) in his belief that the utilization of several research methodologies including participant observation to study educational problems, will give a balance to the research process. Strategies used in quantitative odology include questionnaires, structured interviews and experimental procedures concerned with specified variables. Such

research yields quantitative or hard data. Participant observation however is a methodological approach which renders descriptive data or soft data. The techniques mentioned previously include unobtrusive observation of total setting, informal interviews, participant self analysis, and document analysis. These techniques can be used to supplement hard data gathered in experimental design. It describes the world as participants see it and therefore has the potential for providing answers to complex reading problems in need of solution.

According to Lutz and Ramsey this type of field research is "concerned with the careful study of a complete socio cultural system," (p. 5) in our case an educational system. They suggest that the system could be a school, a school district, a state department of education. First it would be necessary to determine the area of observation, the site and the general area of question, but one does not as in experimental design restrict oneself to two or three hypotheses. It must be clear, however, that there certainly is a focus, though there originally are no hypotheses.

The role of the researcher, or collector of data, or participant observer, if you will, is not limited to a predetermined design. It is descriptive analysis, a process of inquiry designed to uncover meaningful theories and raise important questions. The researcher becomes a part of the organizational

setting, observes phenomena, events, behavior, the possible relationships of phenomenon, collects data pertinent to his topic, interviews, moves about routinely within the environment, observing and taking notes assiduously. It is crucial that the ethnographer is not disruptive, establishes rapport in the setting and wins the trust and confidence of his subjects. Perhaps the most difficult task of the ethnographer is content analysis or data analysis which requires careful analysis of the notes to describe the typical behaviors, rather than a tabulation of a mean set of scores. The results are not restricted to specific research questions. Rather, ethnography generates research questions and can be used to generate hypotheses for meaningful future research.

More specifically the data is broader and more holistic. The researcher does not make generalizations about a whole population from a random sample which was never alike in the beginning. Bogdan continues "qualitative methodologies refer to research procedures which produce descriptive data; people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior" not reduced to a variable or a hypothesis. We see people personally as they develop their own definition of the world of reading, experience what they experience daily. Such experience and concepts are lost in experimental research. Bogdan states that data analysis is a process whereby the researcher identifies theories and con-

structs hypotheses as they are suggested by the data and he attempts to support the hypotheses by quantifying the data. This methodology was used by Smith (1978) in her study entitled "Shifts in Preservice Teachers' Perceptions of Competence and Attitudes Toward the Role of Reading During a Field Based Experience in a Secondary Reading Course Using Participant Observation Techniques."

Objective III

Professional educators are in a dilemma with reference to the multiplicity of research materials, methods available and the lack of school reading improvement. There is a critical need for researchers to investigate other types of research methodology. "Contemporary anthropology is a scientific horn of plenty, brimming with unique, penetrating insight worthy of consideration." (p. vi) (Pelto, 1965) Ethnography is coming to be much discussed in education. Dell Hymes, Dean of the Graduate School of Education, concurs the University of Pennsylvania is not only seeking answers but assisting others in seeking answers. It has just concluded its third annual Ethnography in Education Research Forum, a four day national conference, addressing the total issue of research to practice in ethnography. Although the methodology seemed perfectly clear to those who had used it, in their research of administrative and school issues, literacy, both

reading and writing, special education, language proficiency assessment ethnography still is not a "household word" in most educational circles. The National Institute of Education is also seeking answers to the utility and practicality of the use of ethnography.

The third objective of this paper will overview the evolution of the theory and use of ethnography and ethnographic research and other naturalistic inquiry by anthropologists, sociologists and reading researchers from Boas to Ogbu and project the potential a less classical model has for educational researchers, specifically reading research. The present tradition of descriptive ethnographic analysis is principally attributed to Franz Boas, a noted anthropologist who from 1887 until his death in 1942 shaped ethnographic tradition. Although in its earliest form it was thought that the methodology was used to study tribal behavior only, Boas did research linguistics and the growth of ideas. Both anthropologists and sociologists following this field research methodology and tradition used participant observation recording the data for analysis of content. They have (1) informally investigated patterns of behavior and (2) analyzed the data using the process known as content analysis. The advantages of using this naturalistic paradigm, as has been noted previously are under discussion at this 1981-82 winter convention. We are in need of the discovery of a method-

ology for studying the multi-faceted process of reading so that literacy can spiral upward.

No doubt, the search for truth is one of the most vital issues at this convention.

As early as 1914-1920 European born Dr. Bronislaw Malinowski lived among the natives in Omarakana, Trobriand Island society making personal observations and statements observing the natives and accumulating a mass of materials, not just a description of acts, but the motives and feelings underlying the acts. Malinowski became closely interwoven with the people in his process. He has been reported as stating that such ethnographic research must deal with the totality of all of the community. Certainly reading research must be aware that we must observe and record and analyze the totality of the multifaceted reading process, not isolated variables of the process.

In his work Argonauts of the Western Pacific, Malinowski sets forth a description of ethnography and stresses the importance of exact description and detailed accounts. He stresses the fundamental obligation of all ethnographers to be both serious and sober in their coverage of the full extent of phenomenon being studied and suggests the uses of "tabularized forms" to present accurate, clear, and concise direct observation. Malinowski was very concerned that documents, charts, and clear outlines were needed for concrete evidence.

Interestingly enough he critiques and labels his own field work as scientific field work. He states "Our considerations thus indicate that the goal of ethnographic field-work must be approached through three avenues:

1. The organization of the tribe . . . . The method of concrete, statistical documentation is the means through which such an outline has to be given."

2. Within this frame, the imponderabilia of actual life, and the type of behavior have to be filled in. . . ."

3. A collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folk-lore, and magical formulae, has to be given as a corpus inscriptionum, as documents of native mentality." (p. 24)

The early field workers, including Margaret Mead, painstakingly recorded their notes from participants to include minute details. They were not armchair researchers or manipulators of data. In the early 1900's sociologists especially at Chicago University became involved in similar type sociological ethnographic urban studies. Anthropologists and sociologists continued this work producing White's Street Corner Society and Liebow's Tally's Corner.

Simultaneously, from 1900-1950 education began to become responsive not to the impact of anthropological research, but to the impact of various other disciplines such as psychology,

community counseling and guidance. It was during this time that the experimental model really began to predominate educational research. Spindler (1955) reveals that education responded to the methodology usually used by psychologists who answered questions about learning theory through observation of laboratory animals in laboratories. The two fields were moving in diverse directions at that time.

During World War II anthropologists and sociologists were used to assist the government in studying the cultural characteristics in cities and nations. In post war years, they have shifted their emphasis from the examination of far away preliterate communities or societies. Close examination will reveal studies of modern communities, cultures of taverns, problems in mental hospitals and research of groups in metropolitan areas.

It has been reported repeatedly that the use of ethnography has been limited due to the lack of literature assisting the researcher who may have wished to use the method. A few "futuristic thinkers" however, began to study how the method could be used in education. In 1953, however, education was not listed in a work entitled Anthropology Today by Kroeber. In 1955 Spindler reports on a conference in Philadelphia of the American Anthropology Association to study the interrelationships between anthropology and education. Spindler's work Education and Anthropology (1955) relates exploratory work between the two

disciplines which it seems we are still in the process of exploring. In 1955, however, farsighted educators were beginning to look at the potential for the relationship of the two disciplines. Spindler continued his foci on the application of anthropology to education in his 1963 work Education and Culture. Several chapters are devoted to the application of anthropological approach centering around the participant observer. This work is indispensible for an educator who plans to use ethnography. It was Spindler's belief that anthropology could help shed light on human behavior in educational situations. This was the frontier. It has, however, as has been mentioned, been difficult for the researcher who wants a "cook book" model to follow. Anthropologists/sociologists have not until very recently published books containing their methodology.

A very significant contribution was made in 1951-52 by Bernard Berelson. He prepared a text entitled Content Analysis. As we have mentioned previously content analysis is the heart of the process of the analyzation of field notes. This is an extremely valuable work for decoding the notes taken by the ethnographer.

In a spring Journal 1981 article of the Anthropology and Educational Quarterly John V. Ogbu of the Department of Anthropology University of California stated, "Ethnography is increasingly used by researchers in education. Among non-

anthropologists, however, it is often misconceived and superficially applied; among anthropologists there is a strong bias toward a narrow application of the technique to the study of education. This paper argues for the application of traditional anthropological ethnography in the study of formal education and for broadening the scope of such studies. It also suggests a framework--an ecological framework--that permits a multilevel application of ethnography in formal education . . . ." (p. 3)

Ogbu, keynote speaker at the third annual conference of Ethnography at the University of Pennsylvania in 1981 focuses on the scope of school ethnography for understanding the process of education with special reference to minority education. He notes that there is superficial execution. He strongly advises potential users of educational ethnography to take training in traditional ethnographic methods of anthropology in order to become competent in application of the theory. Hymes said much the same. He suggests that traditional ethnography can if applied properly supply us with data that is both rich and valid in school situations. He further suggests that we do not engage in "microethnographic studies" to understand general phenomena.

In Denzin's 1978 volume entitled Sociological Methods the book is divided into very discrete phases: theory, concrete observation strategies available to the observer, namely interviewing, data analysis, and strengths and weaknesses of

methods. Reading I is devoted to the issues of naturalistic inquiry. It is Denzin's definition of naturalistic behaviorism that should be addressed, since the major theme of this conference is naturalistic vs experimental research. Denzin's view of naturalistic behaviorism is taken from Mead (1934:39) and Blumer (1969). The naturalist, he insists, employs any and all analysis or retrospection of data be it quantitative or qualitative. He includes introspection of both participant and observer as basic to naturalistic behavior and he has the utmost respect for empirical research. He also stresses the importance of language, linguistics in the analysis of introspection. "Traditionally participant observation, however loosely defined has been the major method of naturalistic studies. My concern here is not with expanding or criticizing prior formulations of this methodology. I take it as basic that all naturalists are committed to: (1) developing interactive, causal explanations of social process (2) building theory embedded in the worlds studied and to employing theoretically informed sampling schemes that are flexible enough to include random, stratified, cluster and even interactive sampling procedures; . . . (5) utilizing a triangulated methodology or multiple observational approach which enables them to use and all research strategic that reflect on the problems at hand; . . . ." Denzin's definition of naturalistic resea rch methodology moves us from purely

ethnographic methodology to one which is a combination of multiple resource data. Chapter XII makes a case for what Denzin introduces as "methodological triangulation," a position which allows researchers to use a combination of methods that are both relevant and appropriate.

Denzin proposes that the use of both quantitative and qualitative data will provide several different perspectives of a research problem and the greater the triangulation the more the researcher is provided with confidence in his findings. Perhaps the theme of the 28th Annual Convention will be Naturalistic and Experimental Research rather than Naturalistic Inquiry vs Experimental. It is also the hope of this researcher that one of the preconference seminars in 1983 will be entitled Naturalistic and Ethnographic Methodology.

Egon Guba (1981) is another researcher who has been actively engaged in research for many years. As early as 1964 he chaired Phi Delta Kappa's Sixth Annual Symposium on Education. He has written at least five additional publications on evaluation. His work Effective Evaluation: Improving the Usefulness of Evaluation Results Through Responsive and Naturalistic Approaches offers an evaluation model which he states will reduce the phenomenon of national scandal attributed to present research. He prefaces his other remarks stating that it is well that we have not used the existing research to any greater extent due to the general level

of its triviality.

Guba describes and recommends the naturalistic approach as one that uses ethnography, anthropological and sociological field studies. His work is invaluable in analyzing a variety of models, in addressing the advantages and problems of assessing humans, and in qualitative research methodologies in which he includes interviewing, observation, nonverbal cues and interpretation.

One can readily see that the literature today is replete with suggestions for the potential use of naturalistic inquiry methodology. Numerous universities are offering courses and workshops in the methodology.

Conclusion

Reading researchers. Most of us have not accepted the challenge of the numerous I.R.A. editorials. We must revolutionize our teaching. We must improve reading. We have overlooked the approaches used by Ruth Strang, Dolores Durkin and Gray and Rogers which gave us insights into aspects of the reading process. We have ignored the suggestions of Lutz and Ramsey, the findings of Guba and McDermott. My question to you is a repeat question of the editors of the 1974-75 Reading Research Quarterly, "Reading Researchers: Where Do We Go From Here?" (p. 1)

We as reading specialists must either engage in interdisciplinary research with the anthropologists using a most naturalistic design or acquire the skills of the ethnographer, becoming competent ethnographers in order to do a more holistic analysis of the reading process. We must also take a look at the research of Strang and Durkin who would not have had such impressive findings had they adhered to the more statistically acceptable design.

Few anthropologists have studied formal educational methodology although they have been actively engaged in school ethnography. Few educators as we have stated, have studied anthropological field methods. Certainly the time is now to broaden the horizons of reading research to variations in reading behavior, examine culture free tests, review carefully techniques and strategies needed in the teaching of cross cultural groups. We must use a wider range of research methodology including video recordings, field notes, participant observations, elicitation tasks, informal interviews, introspection and retrospection, audio tapes, recordings, diaries and informal observation of cognitive tasks.

The results of my research findings seem to suggest that it may not be either quantitative or qualitative. It may not be ethnography or empirical research. Both Wolcott and Ogbu warn educational researchers not to engage in the abuse of ethno-

graphic methodology, not to engage in research without the proper training in the tradition of ethnographic methods of anthropology. Ogbu continues that thoroughly understood ethnography can provide educators with rich and valid data rendering a holistic approach to the problem under study. He warns us about formulating studies that are too simplistic, that do not address the total ecological environment.

I conclude with a quote from the May 1981 Journal of Reading. Kathryn R. LeGrand reported on an interesting interview she had with anthropologist John Ogbu. Her concluding sentence, "Perhaps his ideas will stimulate alternative solutions--unique resolutions to provide truly equal opportunity for equal education." (p.)

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